

PEACE NEWS

Brotherhood : Non-Violence : Freedom

No. 905

October 30 1953

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THE OUTLOOK FOR A THIRD CAMP

page four

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made, October 17, 1953.
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DGE UNION RALLY
rn Area, Bristol

y, November 7

g House, 300 Gloucester Road,
Horfield.

ness 3.30 p.m. Address by
m. Tea 5.45 Sale of Produce

UBLIC MEETING
Peace-making in America

Tramway Centre, 5 and 6a from
Alight at St. Edmund's Church
Radnor Rd.). Please bring garden
arrangements provided for enter-
during afternoon meeting.

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peak at the Dick Sheppard
ersary gathering in Mary
Hall, Tavistock Place,
W.C.1 on

y, October 31

y COLIN HORSLEY

s 6.30 to 7.30 p.m.

D PEACE PLEDGE UNION

ackstock Rd., London, N.4
Printed by 'The Good Ship'
onthill Road, London, N.4

18 scientists speak out on THE GROWTH OF FEAR

"SCIENTISTS everywhere must con-
cern themselves with and speak
out on the problems of the maintenance
of scientific integrity, the maintenance
of channels of communication and
travel and the proper direction of pub-
lic support of research, as well as on
the personal, moral problem of the end
results of a scientist's professional
work."

This is part of a statement just issued above
the signatures of 18 distinguished scientists
by the Society for Social Responsibility in
Science, an account of whose activities was
published in last week's issue of Peace News.

The statement deplores the "serious
growth of fear" which inhibits free expres-
sion among scientists and adds:

"It is time that we learned to lose our
fear of being 'labelled' for saying things we
profoundly believe in. This fear must be
overcome if we are to preserve the trust and
fellowship, the loyalty to truth and the free-
dom of inquiry which we recognise as
fundamental to science and to a high level
of civilisation."

The Society for Social Responsibility in
Science includes Nobel Prize winners Albert
Einstein and Max Born.

Among those signing the statement are
Professor Kathleen Lonsdale, FRS, Head of
the Department of Crystallography, University
College, London, and member of the Quaker
delegation to Moscow; Charles A. Coulson,
FRS, Rouse Ball Professor of Applied Mathe-
matics, Oxford University and this year's
Alex Wood Memorial Lecturer.

Shigeru Oae, Institute for Scientific and
Industrial Research, Osaka, Japan; Stuart
Mudd, Professor of Microbiology, University
of Pennsylvania.

Einstein's message to war resisters—page
three; Charles Coulson "Peacemaking in
Japan"—letter, page five.

"FOR EUROPEANS ONLY" Family happiness has this label too

By PATRICK DUNCAN

AN authoritative survey of the life of the
African people living in the Keiskamma-
riverside reserve has just been published.
Its tone is the dispassionate tone used by
scientists, but it is full of information that
should make all South Africans ashamed of
the widespread system of migrant labour.

I shall just give two examples.
Of 1,000 deaths of peoples of all ages, the
rate of deaths among children under one
year of age is 635. And out of 1,000 children
born, 288 die before they are one year old.

In England and Wales the corresponding
figure was 30 in 1950.
The reason for the appalling state of affairs
is poverty and ignorance. This poverty and
ignorance is increased by the way that the
able-bodied men and women are forced by
the migrant labour system to work away from
their homes.

This survey paints a ghastly picture of the
way that this system breaks up and divides
families.

Out of 110 families investigated only three
were complete with the man and wife living
together with all the children that they had
begotten, and only eight were complete with
the man and wife living together with all
their living children. In 99 cases one or
more living members of the family were
absent.

How can we expect a new generation to
grow up in health and decency in conditions
like this? Evidently family happiness in
South Africa, has the hateful label on it—
"For Europeans Only."

—Indian Opinion.

MANILAL GANDHI RELEASED

MANILAL GANDHI, son of Mahatma
Gandhi, has been released from Pretoria
prison after serving 38 days of a 50-day
sentence with hard labour for his part in the
non-violent resistance against unjust laws.

Mr. Gandhi was a member of a party, in-
cluding Patrick Duncan, which entered an
unauthorised location, near Johannesburg, without a
permit. He was given a sentence of fifty days
and appealed. However, in view of the govern-
ment's recently announced intention to transfer
20,000 Africans from their homes in a Johan-
nesburg township, Mr. Gandhi decided to with-
draw his appeal and serve the period.
(Patrick Duncan John Folt—page 3)

Britain's defence policy futile WILL SHE SWITCH TO OFFENCE?

By THE EDITOR

If war breaks out between East and West, the chances of survival
for Britain are nil.

This is the inference that has to be drawn from the third in a series of
Sunday Observer articles by Chester Wilmot on Rocket Warfare, entitled "The
Prospects of Survival."

The prospects of armed strength preventing
the outbreak of such a war are in his opinion
slender.

The real issue upon which our chances of
survival are likely to depend is whether we
can get the politicians and the Chester Wil-
mots to see that the prevention of war by
frightening the other side with the threat of
a terrible counter-attack is a certain failure.

Defence through threats cannot be achieved
by both sides in the cold war, because each
side equally wishes to survive.

The common adoption of such a means of
defence can only lead to the progressive
exacerbation of the fear under which both
East and West live, and ultimately to their
joint destruction.

Walter Lippman, the famous American
journalist, has recently remarked that even
the American Government is now reaching
the conclusion that "the only defence against
atomic warfare is to prevent it altogether"

and he goes on to say that unless he is greatly
mistaken this is now the major premise of
high policy.

There is very convincing confirmation of
Mr. Lippman's comment in Mr. Wilmot's
examination of the problem and we may prob-
ably take it for granted that for all respon-
sible statesmen and politicians this conclusion
is now a settled thing. In this field it is the job
of the pacifist to demonstrate that now less
than ever is it possible to achieve defence
by being more terrible than a prospective
enemy.

Mr. Dean recognises aggression

Unfortunately this is not the only thing
that has to be demonstrated, for not by any
means are all statesmen and politicians respon-
sible people.

This is terribly brought home by some
recent comments of Mr. Gordon Dean who, as
he was once Chairman of the U.S. Atomic
Energy Commission, has presumably been
regarded as a responsible statesman if it has
now become only too clear that he is not a
responsible man.

He has said:

"Let us tell them (the Russians), and mean
it, that, while we hate the thought of using
atomic bombs, the next Soviet aggression
must be regarded as an invitation to use
them, if need be, to stop the aggression.
Let us make it plain that if Russia moves
directly or indirectly in Korea, the Middle
East, or the Arctic tomorrow we not only
will but we must destroy the vitals of such
a movement—every marshalling yard, every
supply depot, every contributory industrial
population."

"Let us tell them we will tolerate no
debate as to the meaning of aggression.
Such a debate might take years. We all
know aggression when we see it. But if
* BACK PAGE

Press ignored second debate on British Guiana

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

WILL the British troops in Guiana be allowed to fraternise with the local popu-
lation asked Emrys Hughes of the Colonial Secretary in the House of
Commons last week.

He was speaking in the
Debate on the Adjournment,
which received no publicity in
the general Press. He was ask-
ing if the Colonial Secretary
could make clear what the pur-
pose of the troops' presence was.
As far as he, Mr. Hughes, could
see, the purpose was the old one
of British imperialism.

"Incredible slum"

He quoted from an American
magazine, "Newsweek," a
report on British Guiana which
helped to throw some light on
the reasons for unrest:

"All but a handful of the
people of British Guiana are
underpaid and undernourished. An incredi-
ble rural slum lines the 25-mile narrow dirt
road between Atkinson Field, a US military
base during the war, and Georgetown, the
capital. People and animals live together in
thatched huts or rotten wooden shanties."

"The stench is overpowering. Georgetown
itself represents a Bret Harte Camp on the
US frontier. The Colonial economy, complex
mixture of races and dismal poverty, the
slow progress towards self-government,
have provided ideal ground for Communists."

Referring later to the Colonial Secretary,
Mr. Oliver Lyttelton himself, Mr. Hughes
said:

"What the right hon. Gentleman does not
recognise is that he is a lineal descendant of
Lord North. This combination of the iron
hand and the wooden head is one that has
stalked through British history through hun-
dreds of years and is now doing the same
thing again. He does not realise he is the
reincarnation of Lord North."

He (Mr. Lyttelton) is talking about Com-
munists. He is a Communist plot. He is the
greatest asset to Communism in the world
today. He does not realise this. It is a
peculiar thing that he does not. He has
created more Communists in a few days than
Dr. Jagan could do in 20 years, and it is not

MR. GILBERT HARDING, well-

known for his outspoken radio
comments, jolted people in Britain again
last week by a bit of plain speaking on
conscription.

During the course of a debate at the
Cambridge Union, in which he opposed the
motion that "The youth of Britain are un-
worthy to their heritage," Mr. Harding said:

"I remember as a young man, after the first
great war, thinking that wars were over; but
they are not. In the past 20 years we have
succeeded in electing a succession of poli-
ticians who have not been able to keep us
free from want or fear of any kind. We
live in an age of fear and doubt."

"Young men are dragged away, at the very
moment when they ought to be enjoying them-
selves, to waste their time in some ill-fitting
uniform, being bellowed at by morons, in the
service of some cloudy and ill-defined ideal
with which successive politicians seek to infuse
them."

"It is outrageous that the youth of today
should be subject to this tedious, squashed
and regimented discharge of an imaginary
duty." The motion was defeated by 714 votes
to 114.

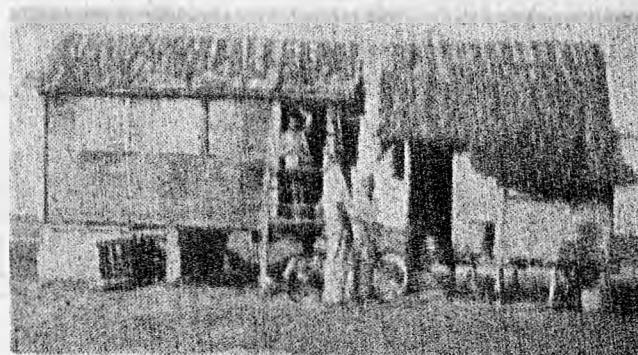
WAGE RATES FOR AFRICANS

In some copies last week the figure
16,000 appeared in the sentence "In Kenya
(1947), of about 160,000 adult male African
employees in all industries (except agricul-
ture), more than 88,000 earned less than
thirty shillings per month."

Youth Conference on race relations

"Nations of One Blood" is the title of a weekend
conference on race relations to be held under the auspices
of the London Union of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.
The conference will take place at the attractive new
conference centre of the F.R. The Mount, at Havering,
Suffolk, on Saturday and Sunday, October 31 and Novem-
ber 1. Pam Wadley, of Peace News, will be the speaker
and Leslie Taitton, Secretary of London Union F.R., will
be in the chair.

Persons wishing to attend are invited to contact London
Union F.R. (CUA 7130) for booking.



British Weekly

"People and animals live together in thatched huts."

only in the West Indies. It is right through
the whole colonial world."

The trouble with the Colonial Secretary,
went on Mr. Hughes, was that he was hope-
lessly ignorant of the elementary facts about
Communism. He did not understand what this
movement which was spreading over the
world was about, and if he thought he could
stop Communism by that kind of action in
the 20th century he was at the beginning of
his disillusionment.

Conscripted for imperialism

Winding up, Emrys Hughes made a refer-
ence to the defence argument which is used
to support conscription.

"Competent military authorities tell me
they are alarmed because there are no British
soldiers here to protect us at all. We have
been told that the argument for conscripting
soldiers, the argument for a great British
Army, is that it is needed to protect us."

"I say they are not being used to protect
us; they are being used in the interests of
British imperialism and British capitalism,
and that if they had a chance to come home
they would do so."

"I ask the Colonial Secretary to give them
a chance, and they will be home by the next
boat."

PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4
SFAmford Hill 2262 (three lines)

October 30, 1953

"DECENT CLYDESIDE SOCIALISTS"

THAT there have been many fiery utterances by members of the People's Progressive Party in British Guiana we have no doubt.

There were many fiery utterances in Ireland about British rule before Britain left the Irish to rule Ireland—indeed the way to put oneself out of the political picture for an Irishman was to refrain from such utterances; and we have little doubt that the same thing applies in British Guiana today.

Writing after the Press Conference arranged for Mr. Jagan and Mr. Burnham the London correspondent of the Manchester Guardian spoke of them as men having a good deal of personal charm, and added:

"If these two men stump the country, putting their case to mass meetings, a lot of people are going to believe not only that the main charges are unfounded but that they are just a couple of decent Clydeside Socialists operating in the Tropics."

Now we have no doubt that the main charges are unfounded, for it seems to us to be evident that if they had any real grounding Dr. Jagan and some of his colleagues would have been put on trial. We have no doubt also that these men have done a number of awkward things, and a number of very indiscreet things; and they have certainly said and done a number of things that we believe would have been much better not said and much better not done.

Nevertheless that description "decent Clydeside Socialists operating in the Tropics" sums up admirably what they have been and the way they have been behaving.

It must be remembered that the decent Clydeside Socialists were not always regarded as "decent." It is only quite recently that Lord Kirkwood has taken a seat in the House of Lords, and not so many years ago that he was regarded as a very wild man indeed. He was responsible for some very incendiary utterances and he certainly both said and did some very awkward and indiscreet things; and although, speaking personally, we felt a lot of sympathy with the Clydeside group there were many things they said and did (and outstandingly Lord Kirkwood) that we believed would have been much better not said and not done.

Nevertheless it is accepted today that they were "decent Clydeside Socialists."

We believe it is with precisely this type of person and this type of policy that we have to deal today in British Guiana, aggravated by much greater depths of poverty than had to be contemplated on the Clydeside, and of course moved by a much more intense nationalist feeling.

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We remarked last week that the Colonial Secretary was able to show that some of the Guianese leaders had had some slight contacts with a number of the Communist subsidiaries, and we pointed out that a bigger case could be made out on the same basis against members of the British Labour Party.

Although it is clear that to use Mr. Griffiths' phrase Mr. Lyttelton has been very busy "scraping the barrel" to find material of this kind to put in the White Paper we are quite prepared to be shown that the contacts with Communism of Dr. and Mrs. Jagan are a good deal less casual than this. Their contacts on arrival in this country for instance are not precisely what we should have liked to see them choose. What must be remembered in all such cases, however, is that people in difficulties are inclined to take help from where they can get it.

We should take British Guiana as indicative of what is likely to be happening in all the colonial areas of the world. We should not delude ourselves that the nationalist movements in the British colonies or in the French colonies feel that they are likely to get assistance in their aims from the British Labour Party or the French Socialist Party. The leaders of these parties may think that they have been cautiously helpful, but their "statesmanlike" attitude is all too likely to appear to those seeking independence and self-determination to be very like that of their Conservative opponents.

There is not today—as there was when the "decent Clydeside Socialists" conducted their agitation—anything between the Labour Party (or the Socialist Parties of the Continent) and the Communists. It is to the Communists therefore that those who really want independence—and not indefinite promises—naturally turn.

This is the crux of the problem that the Western world has to face today. The imperialist powers will either have to bring freedom to the unfree peoples of the "free world" in such a way that there can be no doubt of the sincerity of their intentions, or they will have to accept the fact that the peoples seeking without success to become genuinely a part of the free world will turn in the only direction from which it seems to them that help is offered.

If Communism succeeds in the world it will be the penalty for the failure in sincerity of the West.

Preface to preliminaries at Panmunjom

THE period of ninety days during which Syngman Rhee has agreed to wait before undertaking war activities in Korea on his own account began to run on Tuesday of this week (October 27). The delegates to consider the preliminaries for the political conference came together for the first time the day before. They are to continue at Panmunjom the Assembly struggle to decide which are to be the participating nations, and also to decide where the conference is to meet.

A further difficult hurdle to get over is deciding what can be included in the "etc." that the conference is to be entitled to discuss. Then will come the discussion of the terms upon which there might be a reunification of Korea.

On this point Syngman Rhee has repeatedly made it evident that so far as the South Korean Government is concerned there is no willingness to accept any kind of settlement that the North Koreans and Chinese could conceivably be willing to accept also.

It is very evident that if a new catastrophe is not to arise out of the Conference and the Rhee Government's attitude to it, the Assembly itself should be keeping happenings relating to Korea under review.

We believe that the Assembly should do two things which are of first importance: put before the political conference proposals for UN co-operation in the economic reconstruction of both North and South Korea, lifting the whole of this work out of the US "Mutual Security" arrangements; and condemn the treaty between the USA and Syngman Rhee giving America the right to have air bases in Korea, provide arms for twenty South Korean army divisions, and also provide Rhee with additional air and naval forces. Senator Knowland classifies South Korea as having the fifth largest army in the world.

Should renewed war come out of the present situation it will not in any sense be possible to regard it as a United Nations operation.

Necessary enquiries

WE have written more than once on the need for enquiry—as detached and impartial as possible—on a number of aspects of the Korean war.

We believe that it is highly desirable that there shall be an investigation into the events of the concluding days of June, 1950—not only into the events North and South of the 38th parallel, but also into the procedures that were adopted by the Security Council that led to North Korea being declared the aggressor, and the approval of the military measures taken by the USA on behalf of Syngman Rhee.

We have no doubt that there are matters that both sides would prefer should not be disinterred, but there should be a great public demand for an enquiry.

We hope that the United Nations Association will take a leading part in such a demand, for, if there is to be any future for the United Nations as a moral force in the world, there will either have to be cleared out of the way the widespread feeling that UN's first major initiative was founded in tricky evasion and moral rottenness, or there must be laid down for future guidance a much clearer understanding of what its constitution requires than can be inferred from its actions in 1950.

Treatment of prisoners

THE two things that we hold should be investigated regarding the actual conduct of the war are the treatment and conduct of prisoners; and the charges of germ warfare. Neither of these matters should be left where they are, for the sake of maintaining some minimum conceptions of moral values.

On the treatment of prisoners we believe that there have been abuses on a large scale on both sides. Each side has provided in its

"General Motors" Wilson draws a wrong conclusion

A COUPLE of weeks ago I mentioned briefly the Seminar-Conference on The Outlook for a Third Camp held by the Peacemakers in Chicago. The Declaration issued by the Conference appears on page four.

One of the decisions taken at Chicago was that an effort should be made to get a broader conference of Left Wing groups and pacifists at an early date for further exploration of the possibilities of developing Third Camp activity, the Peacemaker Declaration to serve as the starting point for discussion at such a broader gathering.

I am glad to be able to report that preliminary discussions with young Socialists and some others indicate that there is great interest in the matter. My American readers may wish to note that, while this is still tentative, November 27, 28, 29 seem likely dates and New York the place for the conference.

Turning to other developments, concern continues to be felt here over the British Government's action in suspending a number of ministers in British Guiana and in effect suspending the Constitution. As time goes on, it seems to become clearer that the Churchill government had no specific evidence of a plot to set up a Communist regime. It is trying to find the evidence now.

One of our non-Stalinist Left Wing organs which is not in the habit of underestimating Communist Party involvement in such situations or of following a "soft" line toward the CP backs up an evaluation made by a special correspondent of the New York Herald Tribune in August, shortly after the People's Progressive Party under the leadership of Cheddi Jagan swept the elections. It is to the effect that there are three people in the PPP high command who are CPers, Cheddi Jagan and his American born wife and Sidney King, minister of transport and communication. This correspondent pointed out that Jagan's wife

BEHIND THE NEWS

press much information about the evil things perpetrated by the other side and each side has practically suppressed all charges brought by the other side.

Although we have not been able to learn much about these things from the Western press we have heard enough to infer that there has been atrocious treatment of North Korean prisoners by the South Korean army. From boasts made in the American press we have also been able to infer that there has been much undesirable pressure (of a "brain-washing" and conditioning character) brought to bear by the Americans upon North Korean and Chinese prisoners.

There have been for instance the curious operations on Kojima Island of the religious division of the American Army Department to which we have previously drawn attention. This information we were able to gather from a rather indiscreetly revealing piece of praise for the activities undertaken in the camp.

We are able to gather something of what is happening today at Panmunjom from a conscientious despatch from Mr. Patrick O'Donovan to the Observer (October 25).

Mr. O'Donovan explains the quandary in which the Repatriation Commission finds itself by the comment:

"The prison camps are controlled internally by terror and torture. A man must now risk his life, must escape from his fellow-prisoners, in order to ask for repatriation."

It is for this reason that the Indian Custodian Guards, who are eschewing the use of force for the purpose, are unable to bring many prisoners before those deputed to offer them explanations; and in any case Mr. O'Donovan suggests that if force were used "they would be faced with the danger of mass break-outs and suicidal resistance on the Kojima Island scale."

Mr. O'Donovan remarks that it is very possible that there will be no more explanations, but he also comments:

"It does seem that the Communists are building up a careful case against the United Nations for future use."

It is important that the Communists should have an early opportunity to state that case before an impartial investigating body, and also, of course, that UN should seek to rebut the formidable indictment that may be raised against them.

Germ warfare charges

ON the issue of germ warfare charges we have still an open mind, with—let us be frank—a considerable initial disposition to disbelieve the charges.

We were never convinced by the confessions. Who could be, who was not already disposed to believe the charges, after the wide variety of extremely improbable confessions that have been announced by various Communist authorities in the last two decades?

What we have found rather disquieting has been the American reaction to these confessions. There have always been, of course, prompt denials, but these have always been of a very wholesale character and they have always come from the highest authorities.

As we have more than once pointed out, some of these confessions have implicated either by name or by a very clearly identifiable description of function quite a number

of people in the US Air Force.

We have never seen a single comment made by any one of the many people so implicated. We have taken it for granted that they have been prohibited, under discipline, from making any comment.

If this is so it does not necessarily mean that the charges are true but it arouses considerable doubts about the wholeheartedness of the US authorities regarding their rebuttal.

We now learn that Senator Russell of Georgia, has called for treason trials against the men who made these statements in captivity and have now returned home.

Treason charges could equally be raised against them, of course, whether their confessions were false or true: in either case they were helping the enemy. We shall watch with interest to see whether these men are put on trial.

If we have doubts about it, it is because the withdrawal of these "confessions" has been very much played down in the Press. On neither side of the Atlantic have they been displayed with any kind of banner headlines.

Whether the men are put on trial or not makes no difference to the desirability of an international investigation being undertaken and thus ought to follow on the charges of confessions enforced by torture that have been made by the United States before the UN Political Committee.

Not only the US airmen and those they have named in their statements should be asked to give evidence, but also those Chinese who have disseminated the charges and the men who took the prisoners' statements and are now accused of having mistreated the men.

Whose cowardice?

THE bringing of a charge of "cowardice" against the face of the enemy" against a twenty-six year old soldier is the first of its kind in British for thirty years. Let it be said at once that that by no means indicates that it is the first case of its kind in that time.

There have been countless instances of break-down under heavy fire, particularly since the war.

There is about a large-scale artillery barrage a relentless far more terrible in toto than the bursting of an individual shell nearby. This is the supreme aggression of noise against man: four or five hundred guns booming in a dreadful roundelay can disorganise his entire structure.

He becomes one trembling offended ear that grows more hysterically sensitive with every crack and ripple of explosion until he can no longer bear it. He will run, he will cower, he may even kill himself; anything but to get away from that noise.

The official response, the response to which all Army training and discipline is directed, is none of these; it is the response of unflinching able terror turned outwards. With all the devils and demons that ever were banging at his senses, a man with a trigger to pull might be expected to let it out that way. The moment of battle has its own inebriation, the "crazed hour" of frenzy when life and sense can be recklessly abandoned and all is swallowed up in the noise and the smell and the hammer, hammer, hammer of activity.

This is the time when cowards, and heroes, are made.

We can sympathise with the man who fails to respond in such a situation in the way that the waging of war requires, while recognising that the infliction of brutal punishment upon suffering men is a necessary part of the military system. That military requirements are such that it is necessary to bring an indictment of cowardice against a man whose nerve has broken in an unholy situation such as that described is one more indication of the fact that the acceptance of war means the acceptance of a multitude of things that are inhuman and contemptible.

LETTER FROM U.S.A.

By A. J. Muste

Communism, let me call attention to the amazing way in which the US Secretary of Defence, author of the immortal phrase that "what is good for General Motors is good for the country," recently made use of a pacifist argument.

According to the New York Times, he suggested that people here try to "imagine how they would feel if they lived in the Soviet Union—lived there with knowledge of this country's superiority in atomic weapons and possessions of the ring of bases around Russia from which these weapons could be employed."

Regrettably, Mr. Wilson did not draw a pacifist conclusion. He is for Americans "getting comfort" out of this picture of intimidation of another people.

Finally, American representatives in the United Nations are telling other nations that in the present state of the world the United States cannot afford to give technical and economic aid to other countries. It has to concentrate on its military defences and cut other items out of the budget in order to avoid intolerable taxation. If, our represen-

tatives continue, other nations will join us in effecting general disarmament, we shall spend a substantial part of the saving on aid to other countries, especially the underdeveloped ones.

This sounds eminently logical and sensible. But it is not in reality twisted reasoning. In the first place, the line which the Administration is taking at this point amounts to saying to other countries: "Now that we are insecure we have to put our own interests and defence first. When we are secure, we shall come to your aid."

Why should they take this seriously? They will think, even if they do not say it, that when the United States is sitting pretty and easy, it will have no incentive to "give aid" to other peoples. The clamour to keep taxes down, when money is no longer needed for arms, will be thunderous. The United States will revert to an isolationist political course. The economic system, which it worships in a well nigh idolatrous fashion, will lead it to proclaim that "business is business and not charity," lead it to insist on free competition, plunge it into a tense battle for world markets.

Secondly, the present line of the Administration is based on the view that when a choice has to be made between making some more H-bombs to protect this immensely wealthy and powerful country and lifting the masses in Asian and African countries out of hunger and poverty, we should do the first and let the second go.

What this means in terms of political reality is to protect ourselves against Communism by driving desperate and aroused peoples, who already resent us, into the arms of Malenkov and Mao. We think we can't wait before turning out another lot of H-bombs to keep Russia from getting ahead of us, but that we still have time until general disarmament has been achieved before feeding and helping to liberate peoples who will starve or revolt tomorrow if we do not help them today.

As a leading theologian once said in another context: "Can no one say this loudly enough to be heard, disinterestedly enough to be believed?"

YOUR WORLD LAST WEEK

Africa

KENYA: Figures given by British Colonial Secretary for casualties in Kenya war against Mau Mau are: Africans killed and wounded: 4,024; Europeans killed and wounded: 57. Mr. Lyttelton said, "Even many of the extreme Right Wing elements are supporting proposals that some of the African leaders should be released to try to restore peace and happiness in Kenya."

SOUTH AFRICA: Dr. Malan said in a speech that the British Protectorates of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland must be incorporated in the Union of South Africa within five years. He said the United Nations was "a cancer eating at the peace of the world." Rev. Michael Scott would not again set foot in South Africa, he said, as he had forfeited his rights. ● The first arms factory in the Union was opened last week. Tribute was paid to the Birmingham Small Arms (BSA) Company for work done in establishing the factory. In a speech the Defence Minister said South Africa was a small country, but her friends knew where she stood in the matter of defence.

Asia

SINGAPORE: Sir John Nicoll, Governor of Singapore said that the work of the Legislative Council had shown that the people were ready and fit to assume heavier responsibilities in governing the country. A constitutional committee has been set up with this end in view.

NEAR EAST: The president of the Tennessee Valley Authority has submitted a report to the United Nations Relief and Work Agency for Palestine refugees on how best to use the waters of the Jordan basin for the joint benefit of Israel, Jordan, Syria and the Lebanon. Arab-Israel co-operation will be necessary for the full implementation of the scheme, but an immediate start can be made on certain projects.

Europe

BRITAIN: 40,000 acres of land used for airfields is to be restored to farming. Between 40 and 50 airfields are included. The reason given is that future defence commitments are such that none of these airfields is likely to be needed except in an emergency.

GREECE: An agreement signed by the Greek Government gives the USA the right immediately to occupy the whole of Greece with its troops, to use all Greek military, naval and air bases as if they were their own, and to import, free of all duties, all military equipment and supplies. All US personnel, civilian and military are to be above the Greek law. The agreement is intended to last sixteen years and the first US troops are expected to arrive shortly. This means that "the Papagos Government has handed Greece over entirely to the USA," says the League for Democracy in Greece.

SPAIN: Newspapers have again been raising the demand for the ceding of Gibraltar to Spain. Commentators say this was to be expected since the US is now to establish bases in Spain, as it would be argued that Gibraltar had thus lost its strategic value for the British Empire and the Western defence system.

CO's GOOD CASE AT TRIBUNAL

The first right - the right to live

WHAT to say, how to say it, not to undersay it and yet not oversay it; this is the baffling problem of the British conscientious objector preparing his written statement for a tribunal.

When oral examinations last for an average of ten minutes it is to be expected that a good deal will depend on the written case. Now the condensation of the pacifist case against military service into a span of words, long enough to make it adequate and yet short enough to be read without boredom, is an essay not merely in precis but in philosophy.

Nineteen-year old David Lane did it, recently. So well in fact that the London Local Tribunal granted him conditional exemption without bothering to call his witnesses.

We reproduce his statement below:

"We all believe we have a responsibility to our fellow men. I believe that responsibility begins by allowing them to live, and to live in conditions which give them the opportunity to develop themselves to serve their fellows.

"The right to live is the basic right on which all others depend. To fight for freedom is a contradiction in terms as, while we are fighting, we destroy the things on which freedom is based.

"Evil cannot be destroyed by the destruction of those we believe to be evil: it can only be destroyed by converting our enemies to good.

NOT EASY

"Pacifism is not easy; it is more than renouncing war, it is a process of trying to build a world in which war cannot exist. Many people may suffer and die for the faith as the early Christians and Gandhi's followers did. The suffering which may come about as a result of non-violence will tend to be on a much smaller scale than that of war, here life will be given, not taken. Love and reconciliation will be the driving forces, not hate and revenge.

"This will need a great sense of purpose; unity, and above all faith—faith that the predominately good in all of us will overpower the hatred and barbarity which is so often mistaken for human nature.

"I renounce war because I believe it to be my first responsibility as an individual: the first step in the struggle for the type of world I believe can be realised."

David Lane is a library assistant with Willesden (N.W. London) Corporation. An active member of his local Peace Pledge Union Group, he has recently been undertaking open-air speaking on behalf of the movement.

He marches to the barracks twice a week

From Sam Walsh

DICK WODEMAN, middle-aged school teacher in the little Devon village of Newton St. Cyres, wants to see an end to conscription.

Twice each week he walks 2½ miles to the nearest bus which will carry him to Exeter.

In the city he dons a sandwich board bearing the latest Quaker and Peace Pledge Union posters opposing the call-up and marches 3½ miles to Topsham Barracks.

At the end of a week Dick has logged up 24 miles walking in support of a cause dear to his heart. And found people interested in his frequently varied posters.

He knows probably better than anyone the damage the call-up is doing to the youth of Britain. He is a Methodist youth worker.

Four get fines back . . .

FOUR American pacifists who were fined \$5 after a street-corner meeting had been broken up by the police in Philadelphia have won their appeal and had their fines remitted.

In the course of the day-long trial a police officer said there was a "tension in the crowd" which had gathered at the street-corner meeting. Some of the listeners were angry. Another police officer said he arrested the four to protect them from the crowd.

Counsel for the defence, Thomas A. Master-son, contended that the police should have arrested the bystanders who were making threats to the speakers. He contended their constitutional rights of freedom of speech were violated.

. . . and one an apology

THE assistant police commissioner for New York City, Frank Friskeny Jr., officially apologised on September 28, 1953 for the wrongful arrest of two pacifists who took part in a poster parade in New York in 1947.

They had been charged with disorderly conduct and the charge was subsequently dismissed. The pacifists then sued Mr. Friskeny for false arrest. A settlement was negotiated and the assistant commissioner made an official apology.

No ration books for Israeli resisters

Israeli members of the War Resisters' International have been refused ration books.

They are not in possession of the necessary army papers indicating that they either serve in the forces or have been legally exempted.

—WRI News Service.

Help for South African children

PACIFIST GROUP'S NEW SCHEME

CLOTHES, games and books will soon be on their way to school-children and others in South Africa as a result of a scheme started by the Highgate and Muswell Hill (London) Group of the Peace Pledge Union.

Known as the South African Relief Fund, the scheme will aim not merely at helping to relieve immediate distress among non-white South Africans, but at making "a gesture of solidarity to show that folk in England have their welfare at heart."

The Group has a list of associations in South Africa through whom distribution can be effected.

It appeals to all who have clothing, games, equipment, books or other useful articles to send them to Doris Wheeler, 15 Lynmouth Road, London, N.2. Cash may also be sent for the purpose of helping to pay for the education of an individual child and arranging for the supply of books to school-children.

The Group has been fortunate in having the assistance of a South African youth leader now in this country.

Bringing new life to Italian villages

ITALY'S National Union for the Fight against illiteracy is bringing new life to those villages where it has established centres.

A voluntary organisation, it receives assistance from the Ministry of Education, the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers), the Swiss Fund for Aid to Europe, a number of international organisations including UNESCO, and also from collections made in factories and other industrial undertakings.

The centres not only teach the illiterate to read and write, but also encourage a spirit of local enterprise and self-help.

Cavona di Lucania is an example. It is a village of about 1,200 people and is 4½ miles from the nearest main road. An old road from the village to the main road had so gone out of repair as to be unusable by motor traffic.

Encouraged by the NUFAL centre, those attending classes there decided to put the road into good repair themselves. With the aid of a borrowed lorry they did the work in 29 days and made the road available for a regular bus service.

More valuable than dollars

In other centres a cultural section has sprung up in which the teachers co-operate with the local doctor, midwife, postmaster, carpenter and others in bringing simple skills to the other villagers which will be useful in their daily lives.

The doctor instructs in hygiene, the local teacher shows how easily home improvements can be made.

Writing of the work of these centres, the *Journal L'Espresso* compares the millions of dollars poured out by the US in aid to war-torn countries with the fine work done by small voluntary groups.

"On the purely human side," it asks, "is this form of fraternal aid richer in promise for the future through the energy it releases and the possibilities it offers to these disinherited populations to progress by their own efforts step by step to a better existence?"

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Old CO advises a possible new one

The following letter from Mr. G. Gale, describing himself as "a future conscript" appeared in the *Socialist Outlook* on October 16:

I am a member of the Leeds Labour Party. At a recent meeting I asked Mr. Herbert Morrison, MP, the following question:

I am shortly due for national service. Conscription, we are told, is necessary to defend the free world against Communist aggression. But on reading the papers, I see that the "leaders of the free world" are Eisenhower, Churchill, Adenauer, Syngman Rhee, Chiang Kai-shek, Bao Dai and Franco. I also see that I can be sent abroad to Germany, Malaya, Egypt or Kenya.

Will Mr. Morrison tell me:

(1) If he considers conscription necessary to "defend the free world" against Communist aggression.

(2) If so, in what way are Syngman Rhee, Chiang Kai-shek, and Franco upholders of freedom?

(3) What would I, in Kenya, Malaya or Egypt, be doing to defend this country against Communist aggression?

Here is Mr. Morrison's reply:

"I do not know if this question originates from the Labour Party—I very much doubt it. I do not know why the questioner pretends that Syngman Rhee, Chiang Kai-shek and Franco are upholders of liberty, as he appears to be trying to make out they are. I would never call them that. He can be quite content when he goes on national service. He will be serving Britain—a Britain not taking orders from Syngman Rhee, Franco, nor anyone else."

That was his complete answer—word for word I have not altered, shortened nor enlarged it in any way. It consists of a filthy smear and a clumsy and obvious evasion.

Tool of Colonialism

IT was strange that more women, especially the mothers of 18-year-olds, did not oppose the renewal of conscription, said Denis Hayes at a meeting in Southampton recently.

In the main the reason was that women's political opinions coincided with those of their husbands, he thought.

Belief in conscription as a method of defence or of securing victory in a war was outmoded by the atom bomb, he said. Conscription was needed today, not for defence but to maintain armies of occupation in subservient and colonial countries.

The meeting was organised by a number of pacifists and peace groups in Southampton. A resolution calling for the abolition of conscription was sent to the Prime Minister and local MPs.

MAINLY ABOUT PEOPLE

Einstein on War Resistance

VICTOR YATES, British pacifist MP now touring the US, spoke at the twenty-fourth annual conference of the War Resisters' League at Butler, N. J., recently.

A message was sent to the conference from Albert Einstein which read:

"The War Resisters' League serves an important purpose. There are many independent individuals in all countries to whom the saying 'War is a crime against humanity' is no empty phrase. They would rather submit to penalties and social ostracism than act against their consciences.

"The War Resisters' League is important because, by union, it relieves courageous and resolute individuals of the paralysing feeling of isolation and loneliness, and in this way gives them moral support in the fulfilment of what they consider their duty.

"The existence of such a moral elite is indispensable for the preparation of a fundamental change in public opinion, a change which, under present-day circumstances, is absolutely necessary if humanity is to survive."

Patrick Duncan joins FoR

PATRICK DUNCAN, son of a one-time Governor-General of South Africa has joined the Christian pacifist organisation, Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Mr. Duncan was the first white person to be arrested for breaking race laws as part of the non-violent resistance campaign in South Africa. He was sentenced to a hundred days imprisonment and appealed against the sentence.

Recently he withdrew his appeal as a protest against the intention of the authorities to implement the Group Areas Act in Sophiatown, an African township outside Johannesburg, by moving 90,000 Africans from their homes.

A. J. MUSTE RETIRES BUT . . .

REV. A. J. Muste has retired as Secretary of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation. His place has been taken by Rev. John M. Swomley Jr., erstwhile associate secretary.

This is in accordance with the AFOR's retirement policy. Mr. Muste who is 68 should have retired at 65 but the Council of the AFOR exercised its right to re-engage Mr. Muste for a further three years.

Although "A. J." will have no further administrative responsibilities for the organisation he will be provided with office space and secretarial assistance at AFOR's headquarters for any pacifist work he may wish to undertake. It is hoped that lifting the load of administration from his shoulders will enable him to spend more time on speaking and writing for pacifism.

Canon Collins wins libel action

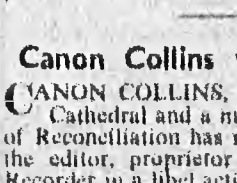
CANON COLLINS, Chancellor of St. Paul's Cathedral and a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation has received the apologies of the editor, proprietor and publishers of *The Recorder* in a libel action.

The action referred to an editorial in that newspaper in September last year, entitled "The Red Chancellor," which said that Canon Collins's "preaching from the pulpit of St. Paul's are along the Party lines."

Canon Collins is to receive a substantial sum by way of damages, which he intends to devote to charity.



Rev. A. J. Muste, Secretary of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation, has retired.



Canon Collins, Chancellor of St. Paul's Cathedral, has won a libel action against the editor, proprietor and publishers of The Recorder.

Conclusion

other nations will join us in disarmament, we shall spend the saving on aid to other nations. The underdeveloped nations are not only logical and sensible, but they are also realistic. They are not interested in twisted reasoning. They are interested in the reality of the situation. They are interested in the fact that the United States is the only nation whose nerve has not been shaken by the atomic bomb. They are interested in the fact that the United States is the only nation whose nerve has not been shaken by the atomic bomb.

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THE OUTLOOK FOR A THIRD CAMP

THE second half of the twentieth century finds the world in a profound crisis. In the midst of tremendous opportunity for material abundance, made possible by technological advance, we are living under the shadow of war and economic insecurity, and in danger of social disintegration.

Armaments increase, cleavages deepen, wars which cost the lives of hundreds of thousands of men are fought under the guise of "police action."

Despite surface changes in the international scene, each day seems to bring us closer to an appalling Third World War fought with weapons more barbaric than poison gas, more destructive than atomic bombs.

For these and other reasons, large numbers of people in the USA and other countries are victims of fear, apathy and a sense of frustration which prepare the ground for yielding to totalitarian control.

In facing this situation, we have as our starting point a deep-seated concern for and belief in democracy. By this we mean a way of life and an order of society based on the recognition of the dignity and worth of the human individual and of his need of and inalienable right to self-determination.

NON-VIOLENCE ESSENTIAL

Only on this condition is he able to achieve true self-expression and to make his full contribution to the development of community among all men in all relationships and throughout the whole world.

Integral to our conception of democracy is non-violence of spirit and method. Democracy ceases to be democracy when it seeks to base itself on coercion and violence rather than upon consent. A democratic society can neither be achieved nor maintained by undemocratic means.

It follows from the nature of the crisis and from our deepest convictions, that we cannot look to either of the power blocs which divide the world into two armed camps—American or Russian, Western or Eastern—for the solution of the crisis by the achievement of a global democratic society.

The world is undergoing the most complete and far-reaching social revolution in history. From the Ganges to the Nile, peasants and workers who have been oppressed by poverty, disease and tyranny for thousands of years are suddenly striking out for freedom. Africa and Asia are alive with movements for independence. British, Dutch and French imperialism, which flowed from the West's betrayal of democracy, is discredited and is in retreat where it has not already been overthrown.

Both the Soviet Union and the United States belong in a real sense to the past from which these groups are revolting. The latter has consistently ignored the world revolution, or sought to thwart it, giving support to those governments and those groups which could maintain the status quo, act as a "bulwark" against Communist thought, and help in the attempt at military "containment" of Communism.

The United States cannot support the revolutionary movements, partly because she is involved in the political-economic pattern of imperialism, and partly because she dare not

Is the creation of a Third Camp based on non-violence possible?

Neither of the present power blocs provides a democratic answer to the needs of mankind. How would a Third Camp respond?

What immediate steps can supporters of a Third Camp take?

These were some of the questions considered at a conference which opened in Chicago on October 1, and was organised by the American revolutionary pacifist group known as Peacemakers.

The conference issued the following declaration as a first contribution to the international discussion of this subject. Peacemakers hope to hold a second conference later this year. The issue is also expected to be one of the major subjects discussed at next year's Triennial Conference of the War Resisters' International.

Copies of the Chicago Declaration may be obtained from Peacemakers, 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania, USA.

risk freeing a nation lest it take an independent course in the cold war.

The domestic as well as the foreign policies of the US force us to the conclusion that the longer men support the "American Camp," the more certain the prospect of war, the more inevitable the prospect of the Garrison State.

Nor do we look to the heavily armed bloc of Communist totalitarianism and the regimes which it inaugurates in various countries, as instruments to abolish war, end oppression and terror, and build a true community of free men.

Communism has indeed recognised the significance of the great popular revolution, which largely accounts for its spread in recent years and still gives it a formidable appeal to

multitudes of people, especially in the technologically backward and exploited lands. But Communism sets up totalitarian regimes where it comes into power, imposes a rigid state collectivism without regard to the human cost, and regiments the masses into huge war machines instead of leading them to peace as it professes to do.

Thus Communism betrays the popular revolutions and in its own way is clearly a part of the undemocratic, imperialist past rather than the free society of the future.

Since, therefore, neither of the present dominant regimes and power blocs provides a democratic answer to the problems of world revolution and the needs of mankind, we necessarily take a third position and belong to what is sometimes called "The Third Camp."

He saw China in transition

HORACE HOLDER

By Robert Greacen

MANY Peace News readers will already have some idea of the work of the International Voluntary Service for Peace (IVSP), which is the British section of Le Service Civil International, founded in 1920, and which aims, to use its own words:

to create a spirit of friendship and a constructive attitude towards peace by giving practical help in emergency or by doing work of public usefulness in whichever country it may be needed.

I went along the other day to the London headquarters of the IVSP—19 Pembroke Villas, W.11, a house situated about half-way between Paddington Station and Notting Hill Gate—to meet the Warden, Horace Holder. A Birmingham man, now in his early forties, he told me of how he had worked, early on, in a Co-operative shop in his native city. His interest in the wider aspects of the Co-operative movement as well as early contact with Birmingham Friends led him to a course in Youth Leadership at Westhill Training College, one of the famous Selly Oak Colleges.

Back in his grocer's shop he felt unhappy and frustrated until one day a Congregationalist minister used the phrase "born a man, died a grocer." His attitude changed and he decided he could at least become a good grocer—which he did.

In those days of economic depression a new and more congenial job was not easy to find. Getting in touch with the Friends Service Council young Horace—he is not the kind of man one calls "Mr."—enquired as to the possibility of doing humanitarian work abroad. His next step was a course at the Kingsmead Missionary Training College. During vacations in 1934 he worked with John Hoyland in the work camp movement in the Rhondda Valley and with IVSP at Oakengates, Shropshire.

The next year, with a good background of practical missionary training (book-keeping and some medical training included) he went off to China. There, in the Szechuan province, West China, he learnt Chinese and lived with Chinese students. By sharing their dormitory and eating their food—and being generally "un-European"—he quickly picked up their language, slang included, and was accepted as one of themselves.

For several years Horace Holder worked as a youth leader in country areas—starting and running boys' clubs, organising vaccination teams, attending to simple wounds, teaching games at schools and even speaking at street corners. I was a little surprised when he talked of camps in Buddhist temples! But he spoke warmly of the tolerance and kindness of the Buddhist priests in general.

Naturally, misunderstandings arose from time to time. Here is an example. Once Horace taught a number of little Chinese boys to make funny paper hats. They took to the idea and danced around wearing their hats, as children will. The Buddhist priests were horrified, the simple explanation being that the wearing of paper hats is part of the ritual at a Chinese funeral. So the priests felt at first that this foreigner was teaching the children to laugh at a venerable, ancestral custom. Horace had a bit of explaining to do on that occasion!

In 1941 Horace Holder set out for England—to face a Tribunal at his own wish; for his own peace of mind, he told me. Caught on

the high seas by Japan's attack upon Hong Kong, he found himself "accidentally" visiting friends in Singapore, the Philippines, Australia and New Zealand.

Arriving in England, the Labour Exchange made it pretty clear that, although liable for military service, the Army did not want him. At the end of the year he left again for China, which he reached via Durban and Bombay. He went right across India and had a look at Quaker work in that vast area.



The organisers of the Hong Kong Shoe Shine Boys Camp, Horace Holder is in the Centre.

From 1942-47 he was housemaster and English master at a Quaker boarding school for Chinese boys, under a Chinese headmaster. He saw at first-hand the corruption and inefficiency of the Chiang Kai-shek regime—schoolboys being taken off to prison and even being shot out of hand. One boy was expelled for reading Tolstoy, an author highly suspect (a Russian after all!) by the authorities. Those were the days when money became worthless and the only thing worth having or saving was rice.

In 1947 Horace Holder took up work as Registrar of the West China Union University at Chentu. Once again he insisted on sleeping in the students' dormitory and sharing in their communal life. More than once he was warned of associating so closely with the students.

The illness of his mother brought him to England in 1949. Then, having been promised an entry visa by the Szechuan provincial government, he went off to Hong Kong in 1950. But after nine months of effort he found himself no nearer his goal. In this interim period he organised camps for boys and did what social work he could with the Boys' and Girls' Clubs Association in Hong Kong.

Forced back to England by his inability to return to the Chinese mainland, Horace is now, as I said earlier, the Warden of the busy IVSP Hostel in Pembroke Villas. Although glad of the opportunity to renew contact with life in Britain, he still feels that his real work lies elsewhere. He can well understand why the Chinese government, with its fresh memories of foreign exploitation, keeps the door shut tight. Yet Horace Holder keeps hoping—and longing—for the day when he will go back again to a people he understands and loves.

Concretely, this means that:

We believe in the fullest possible extension of democracy and individual freedom.

We believe unequivocally in the right of all peoples to independence from foreign control, whether military, political, economic or cultural. We support movements by which they seek equal status as members of an interdependent world of free and peaceful peoples.

We believe in the abolition of exploitation, segregation and discrimination wherever these exist. We repudiate high living standards, special opportunities or favoured status based on the tyranny of one group over another whether that tyranny is expressed through force of arms or through the more subtle means of economic exploitation.

We believe that the economic problem is a global one and requires a world approach to its solution. Any solution must guarantee to all peoples the basis for equal status, opportunity and personal dignity.

We believe that feudalism, land-lordism, imperialism and control of the materials and means of production in basic industries by privately owned corporations must end.

We believe that the natural and productive resources and key instruments of distribution and communication belong to all and should be socially owned and democratically administered through the people's own co-operative, community and other instruments.

We believe that technology must be a servant and not the master of the human race. Irrational support of technological efficiency for its own sake, and the concentration of power entailing the growth of bureaucracy and statism, which go with such a policy, violate our democratic faith and threaten to destroy any possibility of a sane governing society.

We believe that the attempt to achieve basic social change by violence is self-defeating, that non-violence is the essential means for achieving a democratic, mature society.

If freedom is to be preserved and enriched it can only be done by the people everywhere rising and asserting their resistance to tyranny and injustice. And they can be successful only if they recognise the global nature of the struggle and commit themselves to non-violence, since violence involves the use of force against itself as a means to an end in the hands of the state.

STRONGHOLD IN ASIA

A movement of opposition to both camps—a movement avowedly non-violent—deeply concerned to explore the possibilities of non-violence—already exists. In a number of Asian and African countries, the concept of Third Camp is a working political reality. A number of Asian Socialist parties, with millions of members, are part of the Third Camp and are largely non-violent. In India, the Indian Socialist Party is in close relation with Gandhian groups.

The preservation of democracy and its extension, in our own and other lands, depends on our ability to join in those efforts to create an international non-violent revolutionary movement affirming its loyalty to the concept of a Third Camp.

Such a movement will necessarily have to take account of existing conditions and possibilities in various countries. It may sometimes proceed slowly, sometimes make rapid strides. It may use ordinary democratic instrumentalities where these are available, resort to non-violent direct action. Nor need we wait for some distant morning to begin work on this revolution.

Among immediate steps are the following:

1. The rejection of war, the refusal to fight, and the boycott of all efforts to mobilise the nation for war and any form of aggression upon other peoples.
2. Support for all programmes which move the world toward a democratic society. Working in and with co-operatives, for example, support of intentional communities,* of basic education, and work with the Congress of Racial Equality, may provide the training and arena for building the values of non-violence within the old order itself.
3. The working out of a broader programme of political and social action, which would include direct action on the race and civil liberties issues, work with migrants helping to solve their problems, participation in the struggles of farmers and workers.

The issue is between modern organised violence and enlightened co-operative action. The negative act of civil disobedience and other forms of resistance to war and exploitation, and the positive act of developing and applying a "constructive programme" are merely two sides to the same banner under which free peoples must now raise. In so doing they become creators of the future.

In spite of the grim aspects of today's world that future belongs not to War but to Peace. To any of the tyrannies which men seek to impose upon their fellows but to Free and the Freedom they shall achieve by united efforts. To this goal, the members of this Conference express renewed devotion.

* In Britain, communities—Editor PN.

"... how delighted I am with the selection ... have the verses too" writes a purchaser of our

Endsleigh

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Well-known Quaker and pacifist artists contribute a range of distinction and high quality, varied to please all tastes, and priced, with envelopes, from 2d. to 5d. each.

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Complete Set of Nineteen Cards (including sample Painting Card and full terms) 6s. 6d. post free.

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PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4

Campaign Corner

PLEASURE FOR PEACE

RECENTLY, Croydon pacifists held a very successful gathering, one of the numerous socials and bazaars which are arranged everywhere at this time of the year. But not quite everywhere—for many districts either have no active peace group, or have not yet attempted this kind of activity.

These occasions are by no means irrelevant to our main peacemaking job, they are an admirable way of raising the funds we so badly need (the Croydon effort, attended by not more than 50 people, raised £25 for Peace News), they provide good opportunities for getting our non-pacifist friends interested, and for pacifist families to meet each other and deepen their fellowship.

In London, on November 28, the North London Bazaar and Social will be held at the WESTMINSTER Friends Meeting House (in St. Martin's Lane, near Leicester Square station). There will be a children's entertainment, various stalls where Christmas cards, books and gifts of all kinds can be purchased, and refreshments. In the evening, music, country dancing and games will round off what has become a most happy annual event. Mr. and Mrs. Goodwill in their little town or village may have no local group on which to base a gathering of this kind, but there are a dozen pacifists and Quaker families in the area, and many acquaintances who sympathise with their views. Why not attempt a small gathering at the local hall, or a musical evening or party at someone's home. Make your admission charge a gift to be sold for Peace News Funds, get a selection of books and Christmas cards (on sale or return from Peace News Office). Invite friends to help in providing the refreshments and entertainments, explore your local talent.

Groups can more easily arrange such functions, and what a splendid spirit they engender for the future, more serious, aspects of our task. A good Christmas social may well lay the foundations for restarting active peace work in your district. We shall hope to hear of these events all over the country devoted to raising funds for Peace News. Write to Peace News if we can help you in any way. H. F. M.

Circulation last week 10,900

FIRST LONDON PERFORMANCE OF SOVIET ARTISTS

Igor Olstrakh (violin)
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Davidovitch (piano)

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during the Celebration of the 36th Soviet Anniversary and 400 years of Anglo-Russian relations

Tkts. 2s 6d, 3s 6d, 5s from British Soviet Friendship Society, 36 Spencer Street, E.C.1

Letters to the Editor

Peacemaking in Japan

I HAVE recently returned from Japan. While I was there I spoke to several peace meetings including one organised by Mrs. Nishiwaki, Chairman of the World Association of Mothers for Peace in that part of Japan. I was struck by the thoughtful and sensible attitude they took to this problem.

There was hardly a single scientist to whom I spoke who did not ask me about the peace movement in Britain. Not unnaturally they were somewhat preoccupied with the effects of the atomic bombs, but without any doubt there is an enormous public opinion in Japan in favour of maintaining a complete disarmament as laid down in their new constitution, and anxious to have whatever contacts are possible with peace groups in this country.

I don't know whether anything can be done through your columns to encourage such contacts, but I do know from the experience which I had there that anything of this sort would be most deeply appreciated.

C. A. COULSON.

Mathematical Institute,
10 Parks Road, Oxford

Look Up!

WE, the Solar family, Science tells us are travelling through space at ten thousand miles a minute going round and round the

Milky Way (and nowhere else)—each complete revolution taking 225 million years. The brighter schoolboys will give their brains and imagination a chance to stretch by computing that mileage, which is but a very tiny fraction of the extent of the known cosmic universe.

Long before a hundred circuits have been made the Sun will have burnt itself out and the nations of the earth united in cessation and the peace that passeth understanding.

The Milky Way is a nebula and it is estimated the new 200 inch U.S. telescope will ultimately reveal 20 million such nebulae in space—each consisting of about 30,000 million stars, and each of these stars a sun like our own. Thus the odds against our speck of cosmic dust called Earth being the only inhabited globe in the heavens are well astronomical.

For a lesson in humility, for a reassessment of values, for a chastening adjustment of the false ideals that keep nations on the brink of war—it were well occasionally to "look up."

According to Scripture only a fool says in his heart "there is no God." In very truth these wondrous grandeur of the firmament put a song of reverence in the heart for their Creator—for the Alpha and Omega of all men, of all worlds, of all things.

A. D. HUNTER.

28 The Grove, W.5.

POINTS FROM OTHER LETTERS

Foreign policy

History teaches us that conferences on peace between foreign powers inevitably foster a state of cowardly evasion, a sort of "We will disarm if you will, but you start first" attitude, which leads to suspicions, accusations, lost tempers, marchings, and then a general drift to war.

There is only one answer to this: peace not by negotiation but by leadership.

It needs a power like Britain to lead, i.e. (a) Scrap all military alliances; (b) Withdraw all military forces from abroad; (c) Demobilise completely; (d) Dismantle all armament factories; (e) Concentrate manpower and women power for peaceful purposes.

Then, and only then, could she march into the United Nations and say with a voice of dynamic authority "Follow us." George Gregory, Wimbledon, S.W.19.

Your article in behind the News (PN October 16) on President Rhee's domination in Korea, and the mysterious complacency of UN in face of his intransigence, should receive careful attention.

An exposure of the pressure exerted by General MacArthur and other lobbyists in frustrating the foreign policy of President Truman and Dean Acheson, who stated that America had no interest in Formosa or Korea as American bases is given in "Conspiracy for War" published by the Union of Democratic Control, 21 Strutton Ground, London, S.W. 1s. —Mrs. L. Bolt, Sale, Manchester.

Positive peacemaking

Readers reply to RAYMOND TELKMAN and IVAN CLEVELAND, Peace News, October 16.

To arouse the conscience of those not yet converted to pacifism by showing them what war really is and exposing the pattern of lies in the dealing of nations with one another, is surely one of the main functions of Peace News. —Roger Rawlinson, Southsea, Hants.

One thing I know, the movement will have a more positive impact only as the individual pacifist moves. Group meetings of the converted talking to the converted will never do it. Let us lose no opportunity of declaring with full vigour in office, workshop, market place and pulpit that war is about the greatest of all evils, that it is a sin against God, and that Christians above all people should not take part in it. —Charles Wills, Didsbury, Manchester.

World peace cannot be realised while economic injustice prevails, and the greatest economic injustices from which man is suffering today are: (1) the unequal distribution of wealth caused by the system of land tenure which deprives the majority of access to the world's natural resources, and (2) travel and trade restrictions which separate mankind and prevent co-operation between nations.

Henry George's plan, outlined in "Progress and Poverty" provides the best way of dealing with these. —Betty Walden, Bedford Park, W.4.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Abused word

Freedom: A New Analysis, by Maurice Cranston. Longmans, 12s. 6d.

IN the first of the three essays constituting this book, "The Meaning of Freedom," Mr Cranston attempts a timely re-examination of one of the most ambiguous and emotive words in any language. It is, he concludes, practically meaningless unless we stipulate what any particular freedom is freedom from or freedom for.

In the second, and to my mind most stimulating essay, he analyses the several connotations of the word "liberalism" in England, France, Germany and America; distinguishing particularly between Lockean and statist liberalism: "where the Lockean thinks of freedom as freedom from the state, the statist liberal sees freedom as something to be realised through the state." Clearly the second freedom is primarily freedom for something; and our appraisal of statist philosophers will depend partly on our conception of man's highest aim. But it is not clear whether Mr. Cranston's preference for Lockean liberalism (a preference probably shared by the majority of pacifists) derives from a different conception from theirs or from none at all.

In his last essay, treating of that hoary nemesis, "The Freedom of the Will," he disposes well of those fashionable thinkers who dismiss the problem as specious, without, I think, establishing his case against determinism. He might have found more redoubtable opponents than those he cites. Here as elsewhere, however, Mr. Cranston's discussion is a model of mental and verbal clarity.

F. A. I.E.A.

For the record

Manuscript to Posterity. 8vo, 244pp (Freedom Press, 7s. 6d.).

It would be a salutary exercise for any periodical to publish in an annual volume analyses, comment and forecast about current events as they appeared during the preceding year. This has been done, for the second year in succession by the anarchist weekly Freedom.

Generally speaking they stand up very well to the rigours of criticism which, equipped with a knowledge of what happened after the events examined, might well be withering. Anarchists will rejoice in this, and refresh themselves by re-reading the articles; those who do not share the anarchist position but wish to understand it will find here plenty of material demonstrating its strength and weakness.

T. R. D.

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1

★ DIARY ★

Sunday, November 1

AYLESBURY: 6.30 p.m.: Friends' Meeting House, Rickfords Hill, Stanley Tennant. "Quaker relationship to historic Christianity." All welcome. S.O.F.

Saturday-Sunday, November 7-8

LONDON, N.4: Second project at Peace News Office, 1 Blackstock Rd. Saturday, 2.30, and Sunday, 10 a.m. Volunteers needed to assist in redecoration of the office. Non-violent Resistance Group.

Monday, November 9

BOURNEMOUTH: 7.30 p.m.: Friends' Meeting House, Avenue Rd. Rev. Clifford Macquire, "Does Russia want peace?" For.

Tuesday, November 3

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.: Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air meeting. Local Methodist ministers and others.

Wednesday, November 4

PINSBURY PARK: 7 p.m.: 3 Blackstock Road, N.4. Discussion on future plans. Non-violent Resistance Group.

Thursday, November 5

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.: Friends' Meeting House, Elsie Tracy, "Does geography control history?" PPU.

Friday, November 6

LONDON, W.C.1: 12.30 p.m.: Lincoln's Inn Fields. Open-air meeting. Sybil Morrison, Robert Horne, PPU.

Saturday, November 7

BRISTOL: 3 p.m.: Friends' Meeting House, 300 Gloucester Rd., Horfield. Area rally. 5 p.m., 7 p.m., public meeting. Stuart Morris, "Peacemaking in America." PPU.

Sunday-Sunday, Oct. 31-Nov. 1

HAVERHILL: For Youth Conference on relations. Commencing tea 5 p.m. Saturday. Speaker, Tom Wardle; Chair, Leslie Morris. For details ring London Union Forth 7130. For.

LONDON, N.4: Second project at Peace News Office, 1 Blackstock Rd. Saturday, 2.30, and Sunday, 10 a.m. Volunteers needed to assist in redecoration of the office. Non-violent Resistance Group.

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DISPLAYED ADVERTISEMENTS are required by the Thursday eight days prior to publication.

LATEST TIME for copy: Monday morning before publication.

MEETINGS

INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath, every Tuesday, 7.30 p.m. Royal Literary and Scientific Institute, 18 Queen Square, Bath. All welcome.

KING'S WEIGH House Church, Duke St., Bath, 8.15 p.m. Sunday at 7 p.m. The Gospel of Peace. Rev. Claud M. Coleman, M.A., B.I.H.

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PERSONAL

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B. K. ADCOCK'S new address: The Ford, Bourne Rd., Bucks. Tel. 672. Local pacifists please call. Self-contained part of house, own backwater, in full shortly.

LITERATURE

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Ruskin Rd., London.

"UNITED NATIONS need China," a new pamphlet by Derek Bryan, formerly ILM Ambassador, Peking. Price 4d (post 1d.) from Britain-China Friendship Association, 228 Chancery Lane Rd., W.C.1.

SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED

A RELIABLE duplicating/typewriting service. Experienced secretaries. Mahal Niles, 105 Haverley Rd., N.19. ARCHWAY 1705, Bk. 1.

MAN, 21, University education, unable offer pecuniary help, because awaiting Tribunal, seeks any work, full or part-time. Lyle, RB.Lance 1695.

SITUATIONS VACANT

KEEN WOMAN is needed to help several evenings a week with clubs and general programme of Friends' Neighbourhood Centre in Bethnal Green. This might be full-time for anybody willing and suitable to work also in the Association's office in afternoons. Details from Secretary, Bedford Institute Association, 128a Hoxton St., London, N.1.

YOU ARE WANTED to help pack Christmas cards—our annual fund-raising drive. Daily 9.30-11 p.m. Mondays and Wednesdays up to 10 p.m. other evenings by arrangement. Peace News (above Fish & Cook, stationers), 1 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

FOR SALE AND WANTED

PEACE DIARY for 1954. Attractively bound, week to double page, all useful information plus Peace Diary Supplement. 2s. 6d. each. 26s. a dozen, post free. Baskilley Cuts (PN 143), 1 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

ECONOMY LABELS (5" x 4") publishing Peace News' excellent envelope paper. 1s. 9d. 100; 10s. 1,000, post free. Samples on request. Peace News Ltd., 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

MISCELLANEOUS

WORLD LEAGUE for Protection of Animals. Annual bazaar at 42 Aberdeen Rd., Highbury, N.3. November 14-21, 11-4 each day. Visitors welcomed. Buses 19, 4 or 230.

WAR RESISTERS' International welcome gifts of foreign stamps and undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRI, Lanchbury House, 88 Park Ave., Rush Hill Park, Ebbw Vale, Middlesex.

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What's the defence against rockets?

THE ADMISSION OF CHESTER WILMOT

I HOPE that the series of articles that Mr. Chester Wilmot has just concluded in *The Observer* has been widely read. But I doubt it.

In these days the British public is so sortified with the writings of military strategists that long articles on rockets and atom bombs and their implications are apt to be read only by the scientists and specialists. The Sunday paper reading public is more interested in the latest sex scandal and the football news.

What Chester Wilmot has had to say is of course disquieting, and upsets a lot of preconceived ideas, especially those of the conventional politicians who still talk about collective security and say that we must be able to negotiate from strength, and produce all the clichés and catch phrases because they are not prepared to face the disagreeable facts.

In his last article Chester Wilmot has stated the facts so bluntly that it will be difficult for our politicians to evade and side step them any more.

What is the defence against the rocket? Chester Wilmot has recalled how it was developed in the later stages of the last war and has shown how much more dangerous it has become today.

"No direct defence"

If there is a third world war we can expect to be bombarded with rockets from the beginning—a rain of high explosives and atom bombs coming down from the sky from which our fighter aircraft and anti-aircraft forces and Civil Defence will be powerless to defend us. Chester Wilmot puts it cautiously in this way:

"The classic military precept that 'Attack is the best defence' applies with particular point to rocket warfare, for in the present stage of scientific development there is no direct defence against the long-range rocket modelled on the German V2."

"This fact is never bluntly stated in Parliament, but it is privately admitted by the British Government's military and scientific advisers, and it exerts a marked influence on the defence policy of Britain and her allies."

Now I have been putting the question: "What is our defence against rockets?" in Defence debates and in debates on the Air Estimates for years, and, if I have been answered at all, have received the usual evasive replies which show that the government has no answer.

The £1,650m. fraud

Chester Wilmot now admits that there is no "direct defence," and that the British Government's military and scientific advisers admit it "privately."

If this is so then a huge part of the £1,650,000,000 that we are spending on Defence has been obtained from Parliament under false pretences.

While we have enough bombs and bombers to inflict enormous destruction in the Soviet Union there is precious little reason for believing that all our Air Force preparations

could defend us. As Chester Wilmot points out, geography is on the side of the Russians. He writes:

"In any event, if rocket warfare should come, the Soviet Union would be in a more favoured position geographically. So long as the Russians hold bases in Eastern Germany, they can bombard Paris and London with rockets which have a range of 500 to 600 miles; but the Western powers cannot retaliate in the same terms against Moscow until they have produced a rocket with more than double that range."

Well, what does Chester Wilmot suggest? One can hardly expect a naval and military writer to confess openly that unilateral disarmament is just as safe as any other line of defence and infinitely less costly.

Mr. Lyttelton disagrees

But he goes as far as to say this:

"The invention of rocket warfare has greatly accentuated the problem of defending the British Isles, but the extent of the transformation in Britain's strategic situation has not yet been reflected in either the pattern of her defence spending or the composition of her military forces."

Of the £1,650,000,000, only 10 per cent. is being spent on research and development, and only a small proportion is being devoted to work on guided missiles.

He goes on:

"The makers of Britain's defence policy today find themselves in a serious dilemma. To carry out her commitments in the cold war Britain has had to mobilise conventional military forces far larger than she has ever raised in peacetime. Yet the weapons with which these forces are equipped are of comparatively little value either for maintaining the strategic deterrent to war or for fighting the vital battle—the air battle—if a hot war should break out."

Chester Wilmot sees no way out of this dilemma "except by reducing our international commitments and thereby making some economies in conventional weapons and conventional forces and especially in the Navy."

But far from agreeing to this the Government, under the guidance of Mr. Lyttelton, has just taken on a new commitment on the other side of the Atlantic—in British Guiana, which will be just another drain on our military forces and an additional burden on the British taxpayer.

No cuts in the Navy

As for the Navy, if Chester Wilmot thinks there will be any substantial reduction there then let him come along to the next Naval Estimates debate when he will find the First Lord of the Admiralty producing all sorts of plausible reasons why the British Navy must be stronger than ever.

In view of what Chester Wilmot—now regarded as one of our military authorities and boosted as such on television—has now admitted and a lot more that is implied in his admissions, one can only conclude that the greater part of the £1,650,000,000 that Parliament has voted for Defence which is no defence, is a colossal swindle of the British taxpayer and has been obtained by false pretences.

DEFENCE POLICY

* From page one

there be any doubts on this score, let us make it plain that it is aggression when a mortar or weapons carrier from the Skoda works of Czechoslovakia is found next to a dead man from the Western world. That is enough. It is enough when a MIG, employed to assist an aggression, can be traced to a Russian factory."

And Mr. Dean asks: "Is the United Nations prepared to back such principles?"

It is a mercy that the answer to Mr. Dean's question would still be "no"; but the danger in which the world exists today does not unfortunately hinge upon the principles the United Nations are prepared to back but a great deal too much on the principles that guide such people as Dulles, Knowland and Dean.

We say with very great seriousness that the time has come to pay attention to the quandary into which the bi-partisan policy of Conservatives and Labour has brought Great Britain.

Mr. Wilmot remarks:

"No other country is affected so gravely as Britain by these inventions, for they have undermined the foundations of her traditional defence policy. Retaining command of the seas or holding the battlefronts on land will be of little avail if her cities and ports lie open to attack by rockets armed with atomic explosives. In a war fought with such weapons Britain could be crippled, and perhaps defeated, without a ship or a soldier moving on either side."

"For Britain the critical fact is that the advent of the rocket and the jet has turned the advantage in aerial warfare strongly in favour of the offensive."

One of the most certain things about a world war in which Great Britain is involved as a main launching-point for American atom-weapons is that this country will be doomed; and we find ourselves in this position with a diminishing power of control over the factors that are likely to bring that war about.

THE LIVING TORCH

For a brief space it is granted to us, if we will, to enlighten the darkness that surrounds our path... We press forward, torch in hand along the path. Soon from behind comes the runner who will outpace us. All our skill lies in giving into his hand the living torch, bright and unflickering, as we ourselves disappear in the darkness.

—Havelock Ellis.

IT is nineteen years since Dick Sheppard, then Vicar of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, renowned for his Sunday broadcasts, revered for his selfless work for the poor, beloved for his warm and generous spirit, issued to the Press the letter addressed to young men, which was the seed from which the Peace Pledge Union grew.

It is sixteen years since we knew that he had died, sitting alone at his desk, his head bowed upon his arms. "What more final and grievous," wrote R. H. Ward, "than the mind's picture of that body with its head resting upon its arms; what more bitterly certain than the thought. He is gone?"

★

It was not only that he was our leader and our friend; he was a man who had an instinct for the right decision; uncertainty and anxiety disappeared before his eager, vital sureness of touch and step; doubts vanished in the clear light of his personal faith.

The pledge of the Peace Pledge Union, "I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another," was inspired by that amazing instinct for saying the only possible words at the moment when they needed to be said.

His final effort in securing an overwhelming vote from the Glasgow University students for a pacifist Rector was one of those deeds which, it seemed, he alone knew how to achieve.

At the time the very fact of that astonishing victory for pacifism, seemed to add to the burden of our grief; we imagined how his electoral address, had he been alive to make it, would have struck a splendid and resounding

blow against the forces of militarism gathering momentum in the world.

He was gone; he was dead; yes but though he could not make his speech he had steadily built up a movement for pacifism; he had seen the need of a pacifist newspaper and thrown all his weight behind the little group of members who had started to publish a paper called *Peace News*.

"The living torch, bright and unflickering was passed on; he had done all he could to make sure that it was safely held; he did not drop it so that it had to be sought for, picked up, or re-lit, but saw to it that it came straight and sure into the hands of those coming up behind."

Since then the runners may not all have been so strong, so well equipped as he; the flame may have flickered, it may have burned low, it may, perhaps have nearly gone out, but always there has been energy found to struggle on, to hold the torch high, and to keep it alight.

★

In a world besieged by the forces that make for war, it is not easy to keep the flame of pacifism burning sufficiently clearly to light the path and show the way.

The great, unthinking, bewildered majority, clinging to the old clichés and shibboleths, supporting the irrational theory that preparation for war will maintain the peace, holding to the outworn idea that war can preserve for man his human heritage to live and be free, can scarcely see through these mists of unreality the little straight flame of the pacifist torch.

Nevertheless it still burns, and so long as there is even one to keep it alight, and one more coming up from behind to carry it forward, there is the certainty that it cannot be completely hidden and that the darkness will be by that small flame enlightened.

It is often dull, and sometimes frustrating to just "be" a pacifist, and to do only those things which may well seem, set against the huge canvas of a world in conflict, to be trivial and ineffectual, but these are the sparks flying upward from the torch handed to us with unerring skill by one who deeply understood human failure, and knew the true meaning of peace.

The Peace Pledge Union belongs to him and to us; it is our privilege and our pride to go forward undaunted, guarding the tiny flame which will someday blazingly illuminate the world.

Multiply it by four

DR. HINDEN ON BRITAIN'S WORLD AID CONTRIBUTION

OLWEN BATTERSBY reports the fourth lecture in the Quaker seminar on "My Neighbour's Bread," at Friends' House, Euston, on Monday. The fifth lecture is announced in *The Diary* on page five.

"ONE'S own bread is a material problem, one's neighbour's bread is a spiritual problem."

"This quotation from Nikolaus Berdyaev is the text of my talk," said Dr. Rita Hinden, adding that she was dealing with the subject of "My Neighbour's Bread" from the point of view of Britain's own contribution.

It was a problem on which Britain, more than any other country, could give a lead, she considered. The mental climate in this country was such that gross inequalities between individuals were regarded as injustices; the mental climate had yet to be created in which gross inequalities between groups of nations would be equally condemned.

She emphasised four points:

1. Britain's financial contribution to world development must be enlarged at least four-fold. A curtailment of arms expenditure for this purpose was unlikely. But consumption expenditure has been increasing on an average of 7½ per cent. per year, and "from this source it would be possible for us to allocate £200,000,000 to the underdeveloped countries without any drastic reduction in our standard of living. We should sacrifice only the continued improvement." To substantiate this point she quoted many figures.

2. Underdeveloped countries must have access to capital, raw materials, skilled labour, markets in which to sell their goods, and guaranteed prices. At present trade terms fluctuate; nations suffer scarcity and famine; backward countries may find all markets blocked.

SUDAN EXAMPLE

Here in particular Britain could take the initiative in the creation of a World Development Authority. Schemes for Commonwealth development—such for instance as the Sudan Gezira project, in which Government, tenants and peasant workers shared as equal partners—might be multiplied and expanded to fit in with a wider plan for world economic development.

3. This work should be accompanied by the march of all backward countries to independence. Emphasis must be placed on "mutual aid": the receiving country should contribute its full share, and, as soon as possible, skilled labour should be locally trained.

4. Aid must not be given as a means to benefit ourselves, as a bulwark against Communism, nor for the preservation of world peace. The coloured peoples of many backward countries had already a long history of resentment; only if Britain made it clear that she had an equal respect for the dignity of all men, irrespective of colour, creed or caste, would this work be both an economic and personal success.

In the course of the spirited discussion that followed Geoffrey Wilson, late Director of The Colombo Plan Technical Co-operative Bureau, stated that India, Pakistan and Ceylon had alike demanded the closest possible relationship with the source from which they received help. In the light of this experience he regarded a World Development Authority as possibly the ultimate solution, but probably not an immediate practical possibility.

Minnie Pallister

Reginald Reynolds

Donald Soper

will speak at the Dick Sheppard Anniversary gathering in Mary Ward Hall, Tavistock Place, London, W.C.1 on

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